

PROHIBITION OF JIATOU ZAJU IN THE MING DYNASTY AND THE PORTRAYAL OF THE EMPEROR ON STAGE

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INTRODUCTION: THE TERMS JIATOU AND JIATOU ZAJU

Portraying the emperor on stage was not at all uncommon in the Yuan dynasty (1260-1368). This can be gathered from the fact that the emperor role, designated by the term *jiatou*, is one of the customary role types in Yuan drama.¹ According to the *Qinglouji* (The Green Bower Collection), a valuable collection of short biographical notes on performers in the Yuan dynasty compiled around 1364, *jiatou* is one of the *waijiao* (extra roles) in *zaju* besides the female and male lead roles, *dan* (female) and *mo* (male):

[These extra role types] include the *jiatou*, the beauty pining in her boudoir, the bawd, the coquettish young girl, the high official, the poor, the brigand, the government servant, and those categories concerning immortals and Taoist deliverance, and family matters.²

The term "*jiatou*" originally referred to the throne of the emperor which an old eunuch would carry in front of the emperor's carriage on an imperial tour of inspection.³ Since *jiatou* was an important insignia of an imperial tour, the modern Chinese scholar Sun Kaidi suggests that the term "*jiatou zaju*" must therefore involve at least a certain scene of the emperor going out in a carriage, as found in Act Three of both *Hangong qiu* (Autumn in the Palace of Han) and

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Wutong yu (Rain on the Wutong tree).⁴ Sun's definition of *jiatou zaju* may represent the original meaning of this term, but the term "*jiatou zaju*" later acquired the more general meaning of all plays in which the role of an emperor is involved.

These *jiatou zaju* make up an important subgenre in the Yuan dramatic repertoire. From the *Qinglouji*, we learn that there were even a number of professional actresses who specialized in the performance of these *jiatou zaju* in the Yuan dynasty:

("Pearled Curtain Beauty"⁵) [Her performance of] *zaju* stands by itself today; [whether it is] the *jiatou*, the coquettish young girl, or the "soft" male lead, [she] always creates beauty out of the role.⁶

("Timely Beauty") [Her performance of] *zaju* is most excellent in playing the beauty pining in her boudoir. [As for] the *jiatou* and the various *dan* roles, [her performance] is equally proper.⁷

("The Southern Spring Joy") Excels in *jiatou zaju*; [she is] also a leading actress in the Capital.⁸

("Natural Beauty") For *zaju* about a beauty pining in her boudoir, [she was] the best actress during her times. [Her impersonation of] a coquettish young girl or *jiatou* also reached the highest beauty.⁹

Cross-dressing was very common in Yuan drama, and the majority of *zaju* performers were females who could play various kinds of male roles on stage. The above references suggest that the performance of *jiatou zaju* appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity in the Yuan dynasty.

However, in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), *jiatou zaju* were outlawed and impersonations of the emperor on stage were prohibited for various reasons. I will discuss the prohibitions and some of the possible reasons why they were imposed in the Ming dynasty in the next section of this article. Previous studies have pointed out that the development of *jiatou zaju* therefore might have faced a different situation after these prohibitions.¹⁰ While we have records of two such prohibitions in the early Ming, we do not know how they were carried out or what their consequences were. In other words, we lack direct sources on the impact of these prohibitions, so how can we determine their effect on the *jiatou zaju*?

One way to do so is to compare different editions of the same *jiatou zaju* before and after the prohibitions to see if any changes were made. But which editions of the plays can we use for such a comparison? Of the seven hundred known titles from the Yuan dynasty, only some one hundred and sixty *zaju* have come down to us in one form or another, and only thirty of these plays have been preserved in a Yuan dynasty printing.¹¹ In other words, the overwhelming majority of the Yuan plays that we have today only survive in late Ming dynasty editions, which scholars believe all originally derived from copies once kept in the imperial palace.¹² Since there is a chance that these Ming editions may have undergone changes at the hands of censors or literati editors in the late Ming, they can only represent the state of the texts under the prohibitions.

For editions of the plays before the prohibitions, we have to turn to the thirty Yuan printings of *zaju* which survive today.¹³ In fourteen of these thirty Yuan printings, we can find the role type "jia," a term commonly used to designate the emperor role on stage.

These fourteen Yuan editions of *jiatou zaju* can start to help us understand how emperor was represented on the stage before the Ming prohibitions. My approach in this study is to compare the Yuan and Ming editions of these fourteen *jiatou zaju*, which represent, respectively, the state of the texts before and after the prohibitions, in order to determine whether they reveal any changes or evidence of censorship related to the staging of the role of the emperor. Some of the key questions related to my inquiry are: Was the role of the emperor removed from these *jiatou zaju* after the prohibitions? Were all *jiatou zaju* censored as a result?

THE PROHIBITIONS ON JIATOU ZAJU IN THE MING DYNASTY

There were two prohibitions against the impersonation of the emperor on stage in the early Ming. The first was during the Hongwu reign. As recorded in the *Yuzhi Da Ming lü* (Imperial Code of the Great Ming) of 1397:

In general, when actors are performing either *zaju* or *xiaoni*, they shall be allowed to costume neither as any emperor, king, empress, nor concubine of any era, neither loyal min-

ister nor ardent man of valor, neither the divine image of the prior sage nor the prior worthy—those who violate this shall be caned one hundred times. The households of officials or good citizens who allow such costuming shall be guilty of the same. Those who costume as spirits or Taoist transcendents, or virtuous husbands and chaste wives, or filial sons and compliant grandsons, or otherwise exhort people to good action are not bound within this proscription.¹⁴

Previous scholars suggested that one possible reason for making such a prohibition is that using lowly actors and courtesans to impersonate emperors and sages appeared displeasing to the Ming emperors and was considered disrespectful to the imperial order.¹⁵ Indeed, in the Wanli (1573-1620) edition of the *Da Ming lü*, the first prohibition is accompanied by further explanations for why the prohibition was necessary: "The emperor, the king, the empress and the concubine of all eras, the loyal minister and the ardent man of valor, and the divine images of the ancient sages and the ancient worthies, are characters whom the officials and the common people should all look up to with reverence, and [therefore] to impersonate them in performing *zaju* is the most contemptuous."¹⁶ In this first proscription, the emphasis is on the *performance* of roles associated with the emperor and the imperial court.

About fourteen years after the first prohibition, in 1411, we find a more specified and stricter proclamation:

First day of the seventh month of the ninth year of Yongle (July 21, 1411), Chief Supervising Secretary of the Office of the Scrutiny of Justice, Cao Run, and others request that an imperial directive be sent to Justice Offices to wit, that henceforth all citizens and entertainers who costume for *zaju*—excepting those who, in keeping with proper codicils, costume as spirits or Taoist transcendents, virtuous husbands and chaste wives, filial sons and compliant grandsons, and all those who exhort people to goodness and those who sing joyously of peace, and are not bound by this proscription—especially those who hide away, pass along through singing, or print for sale anything not allowed by law that has lyrics that blaspheme emperors, kings, sages, or worthies, or that perform *zaju* involving the role of the emperor, should be immediately seized and sent to the offices of justice for examination and order-

ing. By imperial decree, after the public notices [of this prohibition] are displayed, all such songs must all be sought out and sent to government offices for destruction by fire within five days. If any dare hide away such items, their entire family will be killed.¹⁷

It is noteworthy that in this second prohibition, not only were impersonations of the emperor on stage prohibited, but the texts of these *jiatou zaju* were also not allowed to be kept, circulated, or printed for sale. As scholars have suggested, this second proscription might have been a by-product of the collection of scripts at court for the enormous compilation project of the *Yongle dadian* (*The Great Canon of the Yongle Era*) carried out in the first decade of the fifteenth century which revealed the existence of such irrelevant texts.¹⁸

In addition, the lowly origins of the Hongwu Emperor (Zhu Yuanzhang, 1328-1398), and the similarities between some of the situations staged in these plays and his doings and those of his son, the Yongle Emperor (Zhu Di, 1364-1424), might be other reasons for these two prohibitions.¹⁹

As we have seen, these prohibitions were sweeping in their aim to ban all impersonations of the emperor and other sagely figures on stage. However, should we assume that they were strictly carried out, and that most *jiatou zaju* were banned or destroyed as a result? To determine the actual impact of the prohibitions on these *jiatou zaju*, I will now take a closer look at what happened to the fourteen Yuan edition *jiatou zaju* in the Ming dynasty.²⁰

VARIOUS CHANGES OBSERVED IN THE FOURTEEN JIATOU ZAJU

The fourteen plays in the thirty Yuan edition *zaju* which stage the emperor are as follows:

- Table 1: Titles of Yuan Edition *zaju* Featuring the jia (Emperor)
1. Guan Hanqing, *Guan daiwang dandao hui*; short title *Dandao hui* (Lord Guan Goes to the Feast with a Single Sabre)
 2. Gao Wenxiu, *Haojiu Zhao Yuan yu Shanghuang*; short title *Yu Shanghuang* (Wine-craving Zhao Yuan Meets the Prior Emperor)
 3. Ma Zhiyuan, *Taihua shan Chen Tuan gaowo*; short title *Chen Tuan gaowo* (At Taihua Mountain, Chen Tuan Rests on High)

4. Shang Zhongxian, *Yuchi Gong sanduo shuo*; short title *Sanduo shuo* (Yuchi Gong Thrice Seizes the Lance)
5. Shang Zhongxian, *Han Gao Huang zhuzou qi Ying Bu*; short title *Qi Ying Bu* (Gao Huang of the Han Washes His Feet and Thereby Enrages Ying Bu)
6. Zhang Guobin, *Xue Rengui yijin huanxiang*; short title *Yijin huanxiang* (Xue Rengui, Clad in Brocade, Returns to His Home Village)
7. Wang Bocheng, *Li Taibai bian Yelang*; short title *Bian Yelang* (Li Taibai is Banished to Yelang)
8. Di Junhou, *Jin Wengong huoshao Jie Zitui*; short title *Jie Zitui* (Duke Wen of Jin Cremates Jie Zitui)
9. Kong Xueshi, *Dizangwang zheng dongchuang shi fan*; short title *Dongchuang shi fan* (Dizangwang Testifies to the Running Afoul of the Affair of the Eastern Window)
10. Yang Zi, *Chengming dian Huo Guang guijian*; short title *Huo Guang guijian* (Huo Guang Remonstrates as a Ghost at the Chengming Hall)
11. Gong Tianting, *Sisheng jiao Fan Zhang ji shu*; short title *Fan Zhang ji shu* (Friends in Life and Death: Fan Shi and Zhang Shao, Chicken and Millet)
12. Zheng Guangzu, *Fu Chengwang Zhougong shezheng*; short title *Zhougong shezheng* (In Aid of King Cheng, the Duke of Zhou Acts as Regent)
13. Jin Renjie, *Xiao He yueye zhui Han Xin*; short title *Zhui Han Xin* (Xiao He Pursues Han Xin During a Moonlit Night)
14. Anonymous, *Zhuge Liang Borwang shaotun*; short title *Borwang shaotun* (Zhuge Liang Burns the Encampment at Borwang)²¹

For the purposes of the following discussion, I have divided these fourteen *jiatou zaju* into four different groups. Only eight of the fourteen plays survive in both Yuan and Ming editions. These eight can be divided into three different groups, A, B and C, according to the changes made to the "jia" (emperor) role in their Ming editions. Case A includes plays in which the *jia* has been removed, while Case B consists of works in which the *jia* role has been renamed. In Case C, the *jia* role remained unchanged. The other six *jiatou zaju*, Case D, survive only in Yuan editions.

Case A: "Jia" Removed through Various Means in Dandao hui, Fan Zhang ji shu, Sanduo shuo, and Yijin huanxiang

In four of the *jiatou zaju*, the emperor was removed from their Ming editions in different ways. Previous studies on individual plays have pointed out that because of the prohibitions, changes needed to be made to these *jiatou zaju* so that they could still be performed. In some cases, the *jia* did not play a major part in the play and could be easily written out of the Ming editions. After the *jia* was removed, the information that the *jia* was supposed to deliver in the Yuan edition of the play was instead provided by a minister or a eunuch.²² For example, the Yuan edition of *Dandao hui* begins with the following stage direction:

[Jia, accompanied by his entourage, opens the play and stops.] [Waimo (Lu Su) enters, presents a memorial, stops and speaks.] [Jia speaks.] [Waimo speaks and stops.] [Zhengmo plays the role of Senior Minister Qiao, enters and stops.] [Waimo speaks.] [Qiao ponders and speaks] The tripartition [of the empire between the kingdoms of Wei, Shu and Wu] has now been settled. I fear that further warfare would bring suffering to the people. You ministers should give the king your advice. [Qiao] moves over and pays obeisance! [Jia speaks] [Qiao speaks] May your Majesty live a myriad years! In my humble opinion, we must not take back Jingzhou. [Jia speaks again.] [Qiao speaks] We must not! We must not!²³

The *jia*, here impersonating Sun Quan, only appears in the opening scene, when Lu Su, Minister of the Kingdom of Wu, presents to him a memorial, which demands that Guan Yu return Jingzhou. The dialogue of the *jia* is not included in the Yuan edition, a common practice for the dialogues of minor characters. Sun appears to have agreed to Lu's suggestion, only for Senior Minister Qiao to enter and try to stop this plan.²⁴

As the *jia* only appears in this opening scene, it was not difficult for the editors to write him out of the Ming edition. In this later edition, the play commences with the entrance of Lu Su, who is now impersonated by the role of *chongmo* (secondary male role).

[Chongmo Lu Su enters and speaks].....I now wish to take back Jingzhou, but I suppose with Lord Guan as the governor there, he would not return it to us. Now, I send Gener-

al Huang Wen to present to our king a memorial proposing three plans.....²⁵

Lu simply explains that he has sent a memorial to his master Sun Quan and reported to him about his scheme.²⁶ This change allows the role of the *jia* (Sun Quan) to be removed from the play.²⁷

Another related adjustment can also be observed in the *timu* (title) of the two editions of this play:

Yuan edition: Senior Minister Qiao remonstrates with the Emperor of Wu

Sima Hui resigns from his official post²⁸

Ming edition: Sun Zhong plans to monopolize the Jiangdong²⁹ region
[Lu Su] invites Mr. Qiao to discuss the three schemes³⁰

As Sun Quan no longer makes an appearance in the Ming edition, Senior Minister Qiao cannot remonstrate with him directly as in the Yuan edition. Therefore, a change is made to the *timu*: we are now informed of Sun's plan to monopolize the Jiangdong region (announced by Lu Su in the play) and Lu discusses with Qiao his three schemes to force Guan Yu to return Jingzhou.³¹

Similarly, we find that the *jia* featured in the opening scenes of the Yuan editions of two other plays, *Fan Zhang ji shu* and *Sanduo shuo*, was later removed from their Ming editions.³² For example, similar to the case of *Dandao hui*, in the Yuan edition of *Sanduo shuo*, the *jia*, Emperor Gaozu of the Tang Dynasty (r.618-627), was actually receiving the remonstration of an official, Liu Wenjing, in Act One,³³ but the *jia* was then removed from the *Yuanqu xian* edition in the Ming dynasty.³⁴

If the *jia* only makes brief appearances in the opening scene, then the task of removing the emperor is relatively easy. In cases where the *jia* is more involved in the entire plot, however, more effort would be needed to remove the emperor's role. A good example is *Yijin huanxiang*, which was rewritten in the Ming dynasty under the title of *Xue Rengui ronggui guli* (Xue Rengui Returns in Glory to his Native Village) and included in the *Yuanqu xian*.³⁵

This play tells an interesting story about the discovery of the merits of Xue Rengui as the real hero on the battlefield, his rise to

the higher ranks, and his subsequent return to his native village. In the Yuan edition, Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty was featured throughout the wedge (*xiezi*)³⁶ and the first three acts. In Act One, he personally supervises a shooting match between the soldier Xue Rengui and his commanding officer Zhang Shigui, an imposter who has falsely claimed most of Xue's military merits.³⁷ Xue Rengui wins the shooting match and proves himself to be the real hero. He is appointed to higher rank, and is later featured as the son-in-law of the emperor in Act Four.³⁸

However, in the Ming edition of the play, we find that the task of supervising the shooting match was passed on to the army supervisor Xu Maogong.³⁹ In addition, Xue Rengui now marries the daughter of Xu instead of the daughter of the emperor. In other words, Xu Maogong is used to perform some of the tasks originally carried out by the emperor. This is perhaps most clearly summarized in the changes in the *timu* and *zhengming* (name) of the two editions. While the *zhengming* of the Yuan edition stresses how Emperor Taizong welcomed the virtuous and took in scholars⁴⁰, the *timu* of the *Yuanqu xuan* edition has shifted the focus to Xu Maogong supervising the shooting match at the main gate.⁴¹

In the four *jiatou zaju* discussed in this section, the emperor role has been removed from the Ming editions of the plays. If we believe that the prohibitions were strict and effective, then we may expect that all *jiatou zaju* probably shared a similar fate and underwent rewriting or heavy editing to make them more acceptable to the Ming court. However, we will see that this is not the case and the whole situation is far more complicated.

The next two cases, B & C, demonstrate how the role of the emperor continues to find its way into the Ming editions of some other *jiatou zaju*.

Case B: "*Jia*" Renamed as Another Role Type in Bowang shaotun and Qi Ying Bu

In the two plays comprising Case B, the *jia* in the Yuan editions was renamed as another role type in the later Ming editions. One is a play about the story of the Three Kingdoms, titled *Zhuge Liang Bowang shaotun* (*Zhuge Liang Burns the Encampment at Bowang*). In many ways, *Bowang shaotun* is a unique case. It is the only play of the fourteen Yuan *jiatou zaju* that has a Ming edition that came di-

rectly from the imperial archives (*neifu*) and contains a detailed costume list (*chuanguan*). While previous scholars have showed that the great majority of the late Ming editions of Yuan drama originate from the copies held at the imperial palace, it is very important that we have a clear example like *Bowang shaotun* which provides us with a Ming text that was once performed or at least prepared to be performed at the Ming court. Such an example can give us important information about what was acceptable at the Ming court, and we shall soon see that the censors might not have been that strict after all. There might have been rules of prohibitions, but there were also ways to get around these rules quite easily. This text is an interesting case because it suggests that the emperor may still remain in a play after the Ming prohibitions, as long as he is designated by a role type other than *jia*.

In this play, the main character is Zhuge Liang, who is played by the *mo* and *zhengmo* (main male lead) respectively in the Yuan and Ming editions. Zhuge Liang is the wise statesman and advisor of Liu Bei. In Yuan and Ming plays, the *zaju* writers followed the lead of Zhu Xi (1130-1200) in considering Liu Bei the legitimate heir to the Han throne.⁴² Liu Bei is only a secondary character in this play, and from the stage directions in the Yuan edition, we are not sure of the role type of this character. In the Yuan edition, he is interchangeably designated as "Liu Bei", "Liu" and "*huangshu*" (Emperor's uncle) throughout the whole play. Only in the final stage directions of the play is he designated as *jia*: "Emperor makes a judgment."⁴³

We can see that considerable changes have been made in the Ming edition of this play. It is clearly stated in the stage directions that Liu is now played by the *zhongmo*⁴⁴, and all the various designations of Liu as presented in the Yuan edition have been standardized as "*Liumo*" (male role Liu) in this later edition. This applies to the concluding stage direction as well, which simply reads "male role Liu makes a judgment."⁴⁵ The *jia* in the Yuan edition is now only designated as a *mo* in the Ming edition, a term that simply means the male role type in Chinese drama.⁴⁶

Censors at the Ming court insisted on inspecting a complete text of each play before its performance.⁴⁷ These censors might have found it difficult to remove the character Liu Bei completely from

this play, but such a play could still be considered "acceptable" as long as all the designations that might be related to the emperor, such as *jia* or *huangshu*, were replaced by some other neutral designations such as *Liumo*. We can see from this example how some *jia*-*tou zaju* might have been able to get around the rules of prohibition quite easily, simply by renaming the "*jia*" as another role type.

Another *jia*-*tou zaju* that continues to portray the emperor but under a different role name in its Ming edition is *Qi Ying Bu*.⁴⁸ *Qi Ying Bu* is part of a larger group of around thirty Yuan plays that dealt with the founding of the Han dynasty which was once a very popular theme in dramatic literature. Because of their extremely negative characterization of the imperial protagonists, most of these plays were not passed down in later times, and *Qi Ying Bu* is the only play on this subject matter that has been preserved in the *Yuanqu xuan*.⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that Liu Bang, the founder of the Han dynasty who is designated as a "*jia*" in the Yuan edition of the play, is later consistently referred to only as the King of Han (*Hanwang*) in the *Yuanqu xuan* edition and no longer as the emperor (*jia*). Similarly, previous scholars have also pointed out that some characters such as Li Shimin and Zhao Kuangyin can only appear in plays that portray them before they became emperor but not after.⁵⁰ While it may appear that the portrayal of the emperor could be avoided this way, I suspect that such changes to the designation of *jia* were perhaps chiefly targeted towards any censor who would review the text rather than the performance of the play. This is because while on paper, Liu Bang is changed from the "*jia*" to "the King of Han," the difference it makes in performance might indeed be quite minimal.

We have seen from the two examples of Case B that "*jia*" was replaced by other role types. However, this can hardly be regarded as a strong supporting evidence for the effectiveness of the prohibitions since one could easily get around these prohibitions simply by renaming the *jia* as other role types. The following case raises even more questions as to whether the prohibitions were effective.

Case C: "*Jia*" Remains Unchanged in *Yu Shanghuang* and *Chen Tuan gaowo*

We have seen how the prohibitions might have brought about some changes in the Ming editions of the *Yuan jia*-*tou zaju*, but we must be aware that there are also cases in which the texts seem not to be affected by the prohibitions. In two of the *jia*-*tou zaju*, the role *jia* actually still remains in their Ming editions.

One is a play titled *Haojiu Zhao Yuan yu Shanghuang*, which is about how the *Wine-craving Zhao Yuan* Meets the *Prior Emperor* at a tavern. In its Yuan edition, the *jia*, Emperor Huizong of the Song Dynasty (r. 1101-1126), makes his first entrance in Act Two.⁵¹ In this play, Emperor Huizong leaves the palace with two of his followers to drink at a tavern, but forgets to bring money with him, and therefore is unable to pay for his wine. Eventually, the Emperor and his followers get into a fight with the tavern bouncers, before Zhao Yuan comes to their rescue and settles the bill for them. The Emperor then even suggests that they become sworn brothers. Later, when Zhao Yuan, set up by the governor who had an illicit relationship with Zhao's wife, is to be punished for his late delivery of an official letter, it is now the Emperor's turn to rescue Zhao. The Emperor not only gives an order to pardon Zhao Yuan, but also makes sure that justice is done by punishing both the governor and Zhao's wife.

The main plot of the story remains unchanged in the Ming edition of the play, but while the *jia* is also kept in this edition, the emperor who is portrayed is now changed to Taizu (r.960-976). The entrance of the Emperor onto the stage is prominent in the Ming edition, which includes full prose dialogues. Emperor Taizu first recites a four-line entrance verse (*shangchang shi*), then gives a self-introduction, announcing that he is the first emperor of the Song dynasty:

I am Emperor Taizu of the Song Dynasty.⁵² Ever since I have ascended the throne, the four seas are quiet, and all quarters are at peace. Today, I lead my courtiers Chu Zhaofo and Shi Shouxin, the three of us, dressed up as simple students, making a private trip incognito to the rural areas.⁵³

If the staging of the emperor was already prohibited, staging an emperor fighting with bouncers and becoming sworn brothers

with someone at a tavern must have been totally unimaginable. Here is the utter confusion that Emperor Taizu gets into after he fails to pay up:

[*The tavern bouncer grasps the jia firmly and speaks*] Pay up fast! If you don't pay up, don't think that I will let you off lightly.

.....

[*The main male lead (Zhao Yuan) sings*] [To the tune of "Caicha ge"]

One grasps his clothes,

And the other is dead drunk.

Don't say that you have fallen into these shadows of flowers waiting for others to help you up.

My three Confucian scholars, don't be scared,

I will take out some copper cash to help pay your wine debt.⁵⁴

The Emperor is held tight by the bouncer, who threatens that he will definitely not let him off easily should he still fail to pay up. From the aria then sung by Zhao Yuan, we get a vivid picture of how the Emperor and his followers later get into a chaotic fight. Comparing the arias in the two editions, the scholar Zheng Qian noticed a minor alteration in the aria quoted above, from a "bloody confusion" (*xue mofu*) in the Yuan edition to a "drunken confusion" (*zui mofu*) in the Ming edition.⁵⁵ While this may tone down the degree of commotion involved, it is difficult to deny that these scenes would have still remained very unpleasing to the eyes of the royal audience in the Ming court.

While we have seen in earlier examples how even seemingly "harmless" appearances of the emperor were removed from several plays, here in the case of *Yu Shanghuang* we find to our surprise that such scenes were still kept in its Ming edition. If we assume that the staging of the role of the emperor was already banned under the prohibitions, then it is hard for us to imagine how this drama could continue to stage an emperor fighting with bouncers and becoming sworn brothers with some drunkard at a tavern. This makes us reconsider the effects of the prohibitions: were all portrayals of the emperor banned, or were some of them perhaps more "acceptable"?

It may be worthwhile to note one change in the two versions of this play as mentioned earlier: Emperor Huizong in its Yuan edition was changed to Emperor Taizu in the Ming edition, possibly because the latter enjoys a more positive image in history. In addition, this alteration of the identity of the emperor from the last to the first emperor of the Northern Song Dynasty might have also aligned the play more closely with the rhetoric of brotherhood found in plays on the Three Kingdoms, which enjoyed considerable popularity at the Ming court.⁵⁶

Similarly, Zhao Kuangyin also continues to feature as *jia* in the Ming editions of another play, *Chen Tuan gaowu*.⁵⁷ The appearances of the *jia* are largely concentrated in Act Three, where the Song emperor tries to persuade Chen Tuan to become an official. While scholars have speculated that the Ming editions of this play may have been edited and rewritten by some literati in the Ming court to make it more suitable to be performed before the emperors,⁵⁸ it is interesting to note that portraying the emperor on stage was again allowed in this case, which shows that not all portrayals of the emperor were banned.

To summarize, the eight *jiayou zaju* passed down in Ming editions, cases A, B, and C, underwent different degrees of change. On the one hand, there are examples in which the *jia* was clearly removed in the Ming editions, which seems to suggest that the prohibitions were effective. However, on the other hand, there are also other dramas which appear to be unaffected by the prohibitions. The *jia* continued to appear in some Ming editions. This cast serious doubts on whether the prohibitions were strictly and consistently practiced. With this in mind, how should we deal with the final group of *jiayou zaju* that I classify under Case D?

Case D: Six Plays Which Were Not Passed down in Ming Editions
As we have seen, not all fourteen *jiayou zaju* survive in later Ming editions. In Case D, we have six *jiayou zaju* that only survive in their Yuan printings: *Bian Yelang, Jie Zitui, Dongchuang shi fan, Huo Guang guijian, Zhongong shezheng* and *Zhui Han Xin*.

Previous scholars, believing that the prohibitions had been effective, have suggested that the negative portrayal of the emperor may be one reason why these *jiayou zaju* were not passed down, and that some of them might have been censored. One example is

Huo Guang Guijian.⁵⁹ In the first act of this play, the powerful Han minister Huo Guang explicitly denounces the undesirable behavior of the Prince of Changyi (then the Emperor) whom Huo Guang had originally set on the throne only a month earlier. Huo Guang then deposes the Prince of Changyi and has him replaced by Liu Xun, known posthumously as Han Xuandi (r. 73-49 B.C.).⁶⁰ There are conjectures that such plays might have been censored during the process of making collections of plays in the early Ming dynasty.⁶¹

But given that certain dramas still managed to continue portraying the emperor after the prohibitions, I question whether we can assume that these *jiatou zaju* were effectively outlawed and even destroyed as a result of the prohibitions. Furthermore, other Ming dynasty sources reveal that the texts of these plays might not have been "lost" during the Ming dynasty after all.

First, we may turn to the *Yongle dadian* which was compiled around 1403 to 1408 with the aim of including all existing literature at that time, including plays. Although the various *juan* in the *Yongle dadian* on *zaju* drama are now lost, we are able to know from its catalog what plays were once included in this massive compilation. In this catalog, we actually find several "prohibited" plays such as *Huo Guang guijian* (in *juan* 20738), *Dongchuang shi fan* (in *juan* 20744), and *Bian Yelang* (in *juan* 20746).⁶²

Second, the *Baoxientang shumu*, a catalog of the books kept in the private library of a mid-Ming literatus Chao Li (*jinshi* 1541), also listed two of these *jiatou zaju*, *Zhougong shezheng* and *Zhui Han Xin*, which shows that the texts of these plays were still being circulated during the Jiajing period (1522-1566).⁶³ From these sources, it appears that copies of these *jiatou zaju* might still have been around during the Ming dynasty. If that were the case, then one could not say that these *jiatou zaju* disappeared because of the prohibitions. As shown above, the texts of some of these plays might have survived in the private collections of the Ming literati, some of whom were great collectors of Yuan drama.⁶⁴

Suppose the texts of those *zaju* in the *Yongle dadian* and the *Baoxientang* catalog had survived to the present day. How would that change our understanding of the effect of the prohibitions? That is to say, is it possible that the lack of extant versions of cer-

tain plays might have led us to overestimate the effectiveness of the prohibitions? We must not forget that out of the over seven hundred known titles of Yuan dynasty *zaju*, only about a hundred and sixty have been passed down to the present day.⁶⁵ Therefore, it is possible that these *jiatou zaju* might simply have been lost in the process of transmission, just like many other Yuan plays, and not as a result of the prohibitions.

CONCLUSION

By showing how the fourteen Yuan dynasty *jiatou zaju* experienced very different fates in the Ming dynasty⁶⁶, I would like to suggest that it is difficult to draw a general conclusion about the impact of the prohibitions on *jiatou zaju*.⁶⁷

To further illustrate the complexity of the issue, we might consider two other plays, *Hangong qiu* (Autumn in the Palace of Han) and *Wutong yu* (Rain on the *Wutong* tree), which are often taken as "model" examples of *jiatou zaju*.⁶⁸ *Hangong qiu* and *Wutong yu* are included in the *Yuanqu xuan*, and *Hangong qiu* is even placed as the very first play in that collection. If there was any censorship around the time *Yuanqu xuan* was published (1615-1616), it would have been obvious to the censors that this play featured the emperor prominently. How can we explain this apparent violation of the previous proscriptions?

One explanation for this seeming contradiction has been mentioned above, namely that the prohibitions were relaxed in the late Ming. Believing that the prohibitions did have their effects in their initial stage, some scholars conclude that the laws might have lapsed in the late Ming, which would explain the inclusion of these plays in *Yuanqu xuan*.⁶⁹ Their conclusion is based on the assumption that these *jiatou zaju* were once prohibited and were only allowed to be published or performed later. However, both *Wutong yu* and *Hangong qiu* were included in the *Yongle dadian*, which was edited during the period in between the two prohibitions.⁷⁰ This fact then calls into question the assumption that a unilateral suppression of *jiatou zaju* took place as a result of the two prohibitions.

Another explanation for the existence of such *jiatou zaju* despite the proscriptions is that these prohibitions did not refer to all plays portraying the emperor, but only targeted those that contain criti-

cisms and undesirable portrayals of the emperor. However, this explanation is also unsatisfactory because it is not always clear what might be considered undesirable or irreverent. We have also seen cases such as *Yijin huanxiang* in which the emperor was still removed from its Ming edition even though there was nothing irreverent in his portrayal. If we look at the prohibitions more carefully, we notice that they also banned the portrayal of loyal ministers on stage. However, the irony is that in many cases where the emperor is removed from a play, his role is often passed on to a minister. This reminds us that the prohibitions perhaps should not be taken at face value.

As I have demonstrated above, there is very little evidence that shows that these dramas were actually censored. Nor do we have any records indicating that the staging of any *jiaou zaju* was prevented because of its portrayal of the emperor.⁷¹ All of these uncertainties therefore caution us against making any sweeping conclusions that the prohibitions could account for all the disappearances and rewritings of *jiaou zaju* in the Ming dynasty. The wide range of fates of the fourteen *jiaou zaju* discussed in this study suggests that the scope and reach of the Ming prohibitions was not monolithic and that further investigation into the complex issue of drama censorship during this period is needed.

ENDNOTES

¹ An early version of this paper was presented at a panel on Chinese theater at the Harvard East Asian Society Graduate Student Conference held in March 2003. I would like to thank Professor Wilt L. Idema and the two anonymous reviewers for their critical comments and suggestions on the paper.

² Xia Tingzhi, "Qinglou ji zhi" (A Note to the Green Bower Collection), in *Qinglou ji jianzhuzhu*, annotated by Sun Chongtao and Xu Hongtu (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1990), p. 43. Translations in this paper are my own unless otherwise stated.

³ For a detailed study on the term *jiaou*, see Sun Kaide, "Yuanqu xinkao (*Jiaou zaju*)," in his *Cuigzhou ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), pp. 332-338. One of the sources on which Sun's findings was based is an entry in Shen Kuo's *Mengxi bitan*, which explained *jiaou* as "the emperor's throne at the Central Palace" (*zhengya fazuo*), see Sun, p. 333.

⁴ Sun Kaide, "Yuanqu xinkao (*Jiaou zaju*)," p. 337. Another scholar, Zhou Yibai, speculates that *jiaou zaju* may refer only to plays concerning the love stories between the emperor and his consort. See his *Zhongguo xiju shi* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1953), p. 310. His reason for this view is that performers of *jiaou zaju* often also specialized in *dai* roles, and that *jiaou zaju*, such as *Hangong qiu* and *Wutong yu*, place considerable emphasis on the *dai* role too. I find his argument unpersuasive because many other *jiaou zaju* do not include the role of the consort. The fact that the performers of *jiaou zaju* often specialized in *dai* roles as well does not imply that they had to play the role of the consort in *jiaou zaju*. Rather, as clearly stated in *Qinglou ji*, these actresses could cross-dress and play various male roles including the emperor.

From the standpoint of theatrical performance, the term *jiaou zaju* also signals an important category, as it indicates the need for a drama troupe to have special costumes for the *jia*, and also extra minor characters to play as the emperor's entourage when entering the stage.

⁵ The names of the actors in the *Qinglou ji* are their stage names. For example, the family names of "Pearled Curtain Beauty" (*Zhulian xiu*) and "Timely Beauty" (*Shunshi xiu*) are Zhu and Guo respectively, see Xia Tingzhi, *Qinglou ji jianzhuzhu*, pp. 82, 101.

⁶ *Qinglou ji jianzhuzhu*, p. 82. For this and the following entries, see also the accompanying notes and annotations by the modern editors that provide more detailed information. For a specific study on the actress "Pearled Curtain Beauty," see Li Xiusheng, "Yuandai zaju yanyuan Zhulian xiu," in *Xiqu yanjiu*, vol. 5 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1982), pp. 239-243.

⁷ *Qinglou ji jianzhuzhu*, p. 102.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128. See also Sun Chongtao and Xu Hongtu, *Xiqu yu lingshi* (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1995), p. 100.

¹⁰ Iwaki Hideo, "Min no kyūtei to engeki," in *Chūgoku gikyoku engeki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1972), pp. 606-608; Kim Moon Kyung, "Genkan zatsugeki sanjishū jozetsu," *Minsei*, III (1983), pp. 46-75; Yao Liyun, "Mingchu zaju de yanjin," in *Zhonghua xiqu*, vol. 8 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), pp. 203-205; Komatsu Ken, "Naifuhon-kei shohon kō," in Tanaka Kenji hakushi shōju kinen Chūgoku koten gikyoku ronshū (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1991), esp. pp. 133-142, also included in his *Chūgoku koten engeki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2001), Part II, Chapter 1, esp. pp. 67-76; Zeng Yongyi, "Mingdai diwang yu xiqu," in *Wenshizhe xuebao*, no. 40 (1993), pp. 15-16; Wilt L. Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama: The Transformation of *Zaju* at the Ming Court," in *Studi in onore di Lionello Lanciotti* (Napoli, 1996), vol. II, pp. 778-

782; Stephen H. West, "Text and Ideology: Ming Editors and Northern Drama," in Hua Wei and Wang Ailing eds. *Ming Qing xiqu guoji yanjiu hui lunwenji* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo choubenchi, 1998), pp. 267-271.

¹¹ See Wilt L. Idema, "Traditional Dramatic Literature," in Victor Mair ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), Chapter 41, 801. For a comprehensive discussion on the various editions of Yuan drama and the importance of the thirty Yuan dynasty printings, see also Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama: The Transformation of *Zaju* at the Ming Court."

¹² Sun Kaidi, *Yeshijuan gujiu zaju kao* (Shanghai: Shangzha chubanshe, 1953), pp. 149-153, esp. p. 152.

¹³ A photographic reproduction of these thirty texts, entitled *Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, is included in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4. Three modern critical editions are now available: Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong* (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), Xu Qinxun coll., *Xinjiao Yuankan zaju sanshizhong* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), and Ning Xi-yuan coll., *Yuankan zaju sanshizhong xinjiao* (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1988).

¹⁴ Quoted in Wang Liqi comp., *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jiluhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao*, rev. ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), p. 13. See also Huai Xiaofeng coll., *Da Ming li* (Great Ming Code) (Beijing: Falu chubanshe, 1999), p. 204. English translation cited from Stephen H. West "Text and Ideology: Ming Editors and Northern Drama", p. 267, with minor amendments.

The *Da Ming li* was repeatedly reprinted in the later reign periods in the Ming dynasty, and therefore this prohibition was always part of the Ming code throughout the dynasty. This first prohibition was also repeatedly applied in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), see Wang Liqi comp., *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jiluhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao*, pp. 18, 34, 43.

¹⁵ Zhao Jingshen, Li Ping and Jiang Jurong, "Mingdai yanju zhuangkuang de kaocha," in *Xiju yishu*, No. 3, 4 (1979), p. 177.

¹⁶ See *Da Ming li jijie fuli* (Wanli edition, reprint, Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1970), juan 26, p. 14a.

¹⁷ Gu Qiyuan, *Kezuo zhuyi*, juan 10, quoted in Wang Liqi comp., *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jiluhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao*, p. 14; English translation cited from Stephen H. West, "Text and Ideology: Ming Editors and Northern Drama," p. 268, with minor amendments.

¹⁸ Stephen H. West, "Text and Ideology: Ming Editors and Northern Drama," p. 268. For a study on the compilation process of *Yongle dadian*, its format and transmission, see Guo Bogong, *Yongle dadian kao* (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1938, Taipei 1967 reprint).

¹⁹ W. L. Idema, "The Founding of the Han Dynasty in Early Drama: The Autocratic Suppression of Popular Debunking," in W. L. Idema and Eric Zürcher eds., *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China, Studies dedicated to Anthony Hulsbrügge on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (Leiden: E. J.

Brill, 1990), p. 198; Stephen H. West, "Text and Ideology: Ming Editors and Northern Drama," pp. 268-271.

On Zhu Yuanzhang's origins and his early career, see Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett ed. *Cambridge History of China, Vol. 7, the Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 44-57. For a comprehensive introduction to the major events during the Hongwu reign, see *ibid.*, pp. 107-81. On Yongle's usurpation of the throne from the Jianwen emperor, see *ibid.*, pp. 193-202.

²⁰ While I analyze all fourteen *jiatou zaju*, I provide a more detailed examination only for those plays that have received relatively less attention in previous studies.

²¹ The plays are listed in the order arranged by Zheng Qian, see his *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, pp. 1-15, 63-73, 101-113, 145-155, 157-167, 211-225, 243-258, 273-288, 289-303, 305-318, 319-336, 349-364, 365-379, 397-412.

²² Wilt L. Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama: The Transformation of *Zaju* at the Ming Court," p. 778.

²³ Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, p. 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, the six occurrences where the *jia* appeared in the stage directions in this play are all on this page.

²⁵ *Guan daizhuang dufu gandao hui*, in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 14, p. 1b.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ This change has also been highlighted in Wang Jilie's synopsis (*tiyao*) of this play, see Wang Jilie ed., *Guben Yuan Ming zaju* (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1977), vol. 1, "Tiyao", p. 1b. In this case, Zheng Qian, who focuses more on the arias, overlooked this change in the play and concluded that the Yuan and Ming editions of this play were not much different, see his "Yuan zaju yiben bijiao" (1), in *Guoli Bianyiguan guankan*, II, 2 (1973), p. 2.

²⁸ Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, p. 9.

²⁹ *Jiangdong*, literally "East of Yangtze River", refers to the Jiangsu area or the lower reaches of the Yangtze River.

³⁰ *Dandao hui*, p. 25a.

³¹ Stephen West stated that the changes made in this play were subtle. The example that he quoted was the stage direction of Guan Yu entering the stage dressed as a god (*zunzi*), which was winnowed out of later texts. See his "Text and Ideology: Ming Editors and Northern Drama", p. 269.

It is interesting to note that he did not highlight the fact that the *jia* Sun Quan has been removed from the play in the Ming edition, which is certainly one of the more obvious changes that were made. This may be related to his belief that only elements that were really offensive and unpleasing to the Ming emperors were removed. See p. 273.

³² For *Fan Zhang ji shu*, compare its Yuan edition in Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, p. 319 and its Ming editions in *Xijizied.*

- Yuanren zaju xuan*, coll. by Zhao Qimei with Yu Xiaogu ed., in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 13, p. 1a, and Zang Jinshu, ed. *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, ed. Wang Xueqi (Hebei: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), p. 2426.
- ³³ Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, pp. 145-6.
- ³⁴ Compare Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, p. 145, and Zang Jinshu, ed. *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, p. 2426.
- ³⁵ Zang Jinshu, ed. *Yuanqu xuan jiaoshu*, pp. 931-67.
- ³⁶ A wedge is a shorter unit consisting of one or two songs which may be added to the usual four-act structure of a *zaju*. It could be placed at the beginning of a *zaju* before the first act as a prologue, or in between two acts as an interlude.
- ³⁷ Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, pp. 211-4.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 220-1.
- ³⁹ In another anonymous play in the Ming dynasty on the same subject with the title of *Molizhi feidao diujian* (*The Molizhi Flying Knives against Arrows*), we find that the entire scene with the shooting match has been removed, which may be seen as yet another way to remove the role of *jia* from the stage. See Wilt L. Idema, "Why You Never Have Read a Yuan Drama: The Transformation of *Zaju* at the Ming Court", p. 779.
- For a detailed comparison of the Yuan edition and Ming editions of this play, see W. L. Idema, "The Remaking of an Unfilial Hero: Some Notes on the Earliest Dramatic Adaptations of the Story of Hsueh Jenkuei", in Erika de Poorter ed., *As The Twig Is Bent... Essays in Honour of Frits Vos* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1990), pp. 83-111; Yan Changke, "Yijin huanxiang de bianzou," in *Xiqu yanjiu*, vol. 23 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1987), pp. 81-90; Deng Shaoji, "Yuan zaju *Xue Rengui yijin huanxiang* jiaodu ji—jiantan zuozhe wei 'xi shiying jiaofang gouguan' he zuoping de xiezuo diandai wenti," in *Xiqu yanjiu*, vol. 42 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 84-103.
- ⁴⁰ Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, p. 222.
- ⁴¹ Zang Jinshu, ed. *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, p. 966.
- ⁴² Wilt L. Idema, "Traditional Dramatic Literature," p. 806.
- ⁴³ Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, p. 408.
- ⁴⁴ *Neifubei*, collected by Zhao Qimei, in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 28, p. 1a.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36b. For a comparison between the arias of the Yuan and the Ming edition, see also Komatsu Ken, "Naifuhon-kei shohon kô," pp. 139-141.
- ⁴⁶ A study of the *chuanguan* also suggests that there is no change in Liu's costume throughout the entire play in the Ming edition. However, one may then wonder about the situation in the original performance of the Yuan edition, whether Liu puts on the costume for the *jia* right from the beginning, or only in the last scene when he is finally designated as *jia*.
- ⁴⁷ Wilt L. Idema, "Traditional Dramatic Literature," p. 794.
- ⁴⁸ Zang Jinshu, ed. *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, pp. 3222-3268.
- ⁴⁹ See W. L. Idema, "The Founding of the Han Dynasty in Early Drama: The Autocratic Suppression of Popular Debunking," pp. 183-207, esp. p. 205.
- ⁵⁰ Yao Shuyun, "Mingchu zaju de yanjin," p. 204.
- ⁵¹ Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, p. 66. Hu Ji points out that "*Shanghuang*" is an alternative name for Emperor Huizong, see his *Song Jin zaju kao* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), p. 205. Emperor Huizong has been a popular subject in many *huaben* and plays; see *ibid.*, pp. 204-6.
- ⁵² Here, one may recall the Qing scholar Yao Xie's remark that in Yuan drama, the *jia* often styled himself by his posthumous title, a feature which he found amusing. See his *Jinyue kaozheng*, in *Zhongguo gudian xiqu lunzhu jicheng*, vol. 10, p. 210.
- ⁵³ *Haojiu Zhao Yuan yu Shanghuang*, coll. by Zhao Qimei with Yu Xiaogu ed., in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 19, p. 11.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 14b-15a.
- ⁵⁵ Zheng Qian, "Yuan zaju yiben bijiao" (2), in *Guoli Bianyiguan guanli*, II, 3(1973), pp. 91-92.
- ⁵⁶ I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for alerting me on this point. Wilt L. Idema has argued that the story of the tripartition between the three kingdoms following the downfall of the Han dynasty replaced that of the founding of the Han dynasty as the more popular subject in Chinese drama during the Ming dynasty. See his "The Founding of the Han Dynasty in Early Drama: The Autocratic Suppression of Popular Debunking."
- ⁵⁷ *Guminjia zaju*, in *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 11; Zang Jinshu, ed. *Yuanqu xuan jiaozhu*, pp. 1895-1927.
- ⁵⁸ Zheng Qian, "Yuan zaju yiben bijiao" (1), in *Guoli Bianyiguan guanli*, II, 2(1973), p. 24. For two examples of the songs which have been edited, see p. 26.
- ⁵⁹ For a general discussion of the play, including the source of the play in history and a summary of its plot, see Wilt L. Idema, "The *Tza-jui* of Yang Tz: An International Tycoon in Defense of Collaboration?" in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989), pp. 533-37.
- ⁶⁰ Stephen H. West, "Text and Ideology: Ming Editors and Northern Drama", pp. 268-269; Wilt L. Idema, "The *Tza-jui* of Yang Tz: An International Tycoon in Defense of Collaboration?", p. 536. For more examples of negative portrayals of the emperor on stage, see Yao Shuyun, "Mingchu zaju de yanjin", p. 204.
- ⁶¹ Stephen H. West, "Text and Ideology: Ming Editors and Northern Drama", p. 267.

⁶² Quoted in Wang Liqi comp., *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jinhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao*, pp. 5-6. There is a possibility that *Dongchuang shi fan* (in *juan* 20744) may also refer to another play *Qin taisii dongchuang shi fan*.

⁶³ Chao Li, *Chaoshi Baowentang shumu* (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), pp. 143-144.

⁶⁴ For a general survey on the vernacular stories and drama listed in the catalogs of private libraries, including the *Baowentang shumu*, see Liu Yongqiang, "Ming Qing sijia shumu zhulu de tonggu xiaoshuo xiqu," in *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua*, no.1 (1995), pp. 59-63.

A number of Ming literati were known to have been great collectors of Yuan drama texts. For example, Li Kaixian (1502-1568) claimed that he collected more than one thousand Yuan plays. See his preface to *Gaiding Yuanxian chuanqi*, in Bu Jian, ed. *Li Kaixian quanji* (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2004), p. 1704. The only thirty Yuan editions of *zaju* we have today were originally kept in Li's collection too. Unfortunately, only these thirty Yuan editions in his huge collection have survived to the present day, which suggests the common fate of the many other drama texts in private collections. As a result, what we know about the private collections of drama texts in the Ming dynasty is largely based on lists of titles in the catalogs rather than on actual texts, and our understanding is therefore still very limited.

⁶⁵ Fu Xihua, in his *Yuandai zaju quanmu*, records a total of 737 *zaju*, see his "Liyan," p. 3.

⁶⁶ In this study, I have adopted as my subject of study the *jiatou zaju* in the group of thirty Yuan edition plays. If we also include another play *Zui sixiang Wang Can Denglou*, then there should be a total of fifteen plays in Yuan edition that stages an emperor. *Wang Can Denglou* is supposed to reflect a Yuan edition text kept by Li Kaixian and is only preserved through the collations of He Huang in *Guminjia zaju*, *Guben xiqu congkan*, ser. 4, vol. 21. This has later been separately included in Zheng Qian's *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, 445-460.

In the case of *Wang Can Denglou*, the *jia* enters in Act Two of the Yuan edition. See Zheng Qian, ed. and coll. *Jiaoding Yuankan zaju sanshizhong*, p.445. The emperor is easily removed in the Ming edition in a similar way as in *Daidao hui* or *Fan Zhang xishu*. In the *Yuanqi xuan* edition, we are only informed in Cai Yong's dialogue that there is a discussion of Wang Can's matter in court earlier, which most probably refers to the scene that is at the very beginning of Act One of the Yuan edition. See Zang Jinshu, ed. *Yuanqi xuan jiaozhu*, p. 2083.

⁶⁷ Some scholars have previously suggested that a need for a second prohibition in 1411 might suggest that the initial prohibition had not been very effective, and that *jiatou zaju* might still remain very common and popular even after the first prohibition. See Iwaki Hideo, "Min no kyūtei to engeki," p. 607; Zhao Jingshen, Li Ping and Jiang Jurong, "Mingdai yanju zhuangkuang de kaocha," p. 177. However, no one has challenged the notion that the prohibitions were effective.

⁶⁸ As mentioned earlier, these two plays are cited as models of *jiatou zaju*

by Sun Kaidi. Moreover, they are also often used as role models to explain the concept of *jiatou zaju* in most reference books. See *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu(xiqu, qiyi)* (Beijing and Shanghai: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 1983), pp. 144-5; Wang Hong ed., *Yuanqi baike dacidian* (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1992), p. 736; Zhang Yuezhong ed., *Zhongguo gudai xiju cidian* (Haierbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1993), p. 161.

⁶⁹ Iwaki Hideo, "Min no kyūtei to engeki," p. 608; Zeng Yongyi, "Mingdai diwang yu xiqu," p.16.

⁷⁰ *Yongle dadian*, *juan* 20744 and 20754 respectively, quoted in Wang Liqi's preface to *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jinhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao*, pp. 6-7.

⁷¹ The *Huang Ming tiaofa shilei zuan*, for example, did not record any subordinate or regulation that was used in the actual implementation of the earlier cited prohibition of *jiatou zaju* in the *Great Ming Code*. See Dai Jin comp., *Huang Ming tiaofa shilei zuan* (Tokyo: Koten Kenkyūkai, 1966).

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GLOSSARY

Baowentang shumu 寶文堂書目	Hanwang 漢王
Caicha ge 採茶歌	Haojiu Zhao Yuan yu Shanghuang 好酒趙元遇上皇
Cao Run 曹潤	He Huang 何煌
Changyi 昌邑	huaben 話本
Chao Li 晁稟	Huang Ming tiaofa shilei zuan 皇明條法事類纂
Chengming dian Huo Guang guijian 承明殿霍光鬼諫	huangshu 皇叔
chongmo 沖末	Huizong 徽宗
Chu Zhaozhu 楚昭輔	Huo Guang 霍光
Chu Zhaozhu 楚昭輔	jia 駕
Chu Zhaozhu 楚昭輔	Jiangdong 江東
Chu Zhaozhu 楚昭輔	jiatou 駕頭
Chu Zhaozhu 楚昭輔	jiatou zaju 駕頭雜劇
Dizangwang zheng dongchuan shi fan 地藏王證東窗事犯	Jin Renjie 金仁傑
Fu Chengwang Zhougong shezheng 輔成王周公攝政	Jin Wengong huoshao jie Zitui 晉文公火燒介子推
Gaoding Yuanxian chuanqi 改定元賢傳奇	Jingde xiang Tang 敬德降唐
Gao Wenxiu 高文秀	Jingzhou 荊州
Gaozu 高祖	Jinshi tongyan 警世通言
Gong Tianting 宮天挺	Kanqian 看錢奴
Gu Qiyuan 顧起元	Kezuo zhuiyu 客座贅語
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Kong Xueshi 孔學詩
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Li Jiancheng 李建成
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Li Kaixian 李開先
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Li Shimin 李世民
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Li Taibai bian Yelang 李太白貶夜郎
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Li Yuanji 李元吉
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Liu 劉
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Liu Bang 劉邦
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Liu Bei 劉備
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Liu Wenjing 劉文靜
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Liu Xun 劉詢
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Liumo 劉末
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Liyan 例言
Guan daiwang dandao hui 關大王單刀會	Lu Su 魯肅

Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠
 Mengxi bitan 夢溪筆談
 mo 末
 Molizhi feidao dujian 摩利支飛
 刀對箭
 neifu 內府
 neifuben 內府本
 Qilitan 七里灘
 Qin 秦
 Qin taishi dongchuang shi fan 秦
 太師東窗事犯
 Qinglou ji zhi 青樓集誌
 Qinglouji 青樓集
 Shang Zhongxian 尚仲賢
 shangchang shi 上場詩
 Shen Kuo 沈括
 Shi Shouxin 石守信
 Shunshi xiu 順時秀
 Sima Hui 司馬徽
 Sisheng jiao Fan Zhang ji shu 死生
 交范張雞黍
 Sun Quan 孫權
 Sun Zhong 孫仲
 Taihua shan Chen Tuan gaowo 泰
 華山陳搏高臥
 Taizong 太宗
 Taizong 太宗
 Taizu 太祖
 timu 題目
 tiyao 提要
 waijiao 外腳
 Wang Bocheng 王伯成
 Wutong yu 梧桐雨
 Xiao He yueye zhui Han Xin 蕭何
 月夜追韓信
 xiezi 楔子
 Xijizi 息機子
 Xishumeng 西蜀夢

xiwen 戲文
 Xu Maogong 徐茂功
 xue mohu 血模糊
 Xue Rengui ronggui guli 薛仁貴
 榮歸故里
 Xue Rengui yijin huanxiang 薛仁
 貴衣錦還鄉
 Yang Zi 楊梓
 Yongle 永樂
 Yongle dadian 永樂大典
 Yu Zhongju tishi yu Shanghuang
 俞仲舉題詩遇上皇
 Yuankan zaju sanshizhong 元刊雜
 劇三十種
 Yuanqu xinkao 元曲新考
 Yuchi Gong 尉遲恭
 Yuchi Gong danbian duoshuo 尉
 遲恭單鞭奪槊
 Yuchi Gong sanduo shuo 尉遲恭
 三奪槊
 Yuzhi Da Ming lu 御制大明律
 zaju 雜劇
 Zang Jinshu 臧晉叔
 Zhang Guobin 張國賓
 Zhang Shigui 張士貴
 Zhao Bosheng chasi yu Renzong
 趙伯昇茶肆遇仁宗
 Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤
 Zhao Qimei 趙畸美
 Zhao Yuan 趙元
 Zhaooshi guer 趙氏孤兒
 Zheng Guangzu 鄭光祖
 Zheng Qian 鄭欒
 zhengming 正名
 zhengmo 正末
 zhengya fazuo 正衙法座
 Zhu 朱
 Zhu Di 朱棣

Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋
 Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮
 Zhuge Liang Bowang shaotun 諸
 葛亮博望燒屯
 Zhulian xiu 珠簾秀
 zui mohu 醉模糊
 Zui sixiang Wang Can Denglou 醉
 思鄉王粲登樓
 zunzi 尊子